

DOUGLAS,
STEPHEN A. - 1861

DRAWER 10C

Contemporary

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Abraham Lincoln's Contemporaries

Stephen A. Douglas
1861

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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Reception of Senator Douglas at Chicago—His Speech.

Senator Douglas received a general ovation at Chicago on Wednesday afternoon, in which Republicans and Democrats united to do him honor.—He repaid their labor by a war speech, in which the necessity of sustaining the Government and vindicating the honor of the flag was eloquently enforced.

The following is a brief report of MR. DOUGLAS' SPEECH.

Mr. Chairman: I thank you for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to welcome me. I thank the committee and citizens of Chicago for this grand and imposing reception.—I beg you to believe that I will not do you nor myself the injustice to believe this magnificent ovation is personal homage to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union and the flag of our country. [Cheers.]

I will not conceal gratification at the uncontroversial test this vast audience presents—that what political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that when the country should be in danger my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I can say before God, my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

The return we receive is war, armies marching upon our Capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is: Are we to maintain the country of our fathers or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy.

What cause, what excuse do Disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of Heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied with the result of a Presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot box. I understand it that the voice of the people expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume, on the election of a particular candidate, that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this. I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands, that so far as the Constitutional rights of the Southern States, I will say the Constitutional rights of slaveholders are concerned, nothing omitted, of which

There has never been a time, from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good a cause for disunion as they have to-day.

What good cause have they now that has not existed under every Administration?

If they say the Territorial question—now for the first time there is no act of Congress prohibiting Slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints that I have heard have been of the too vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they?

The Slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext.—The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since—formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago.

They use the Slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends.—They desire the election of a Northern candidate by a sectional vote in order to show that the two sections cannot live together.—When the history of the two years from the Lecompton Charter down to the late Presidential election, shall be written, it will be shown that the scheme was deliberately made to break up this Union.

They desire a Northern Republican to be elected by a purely Northern vote and then assign this fact as a reason why the sections may not live together. If the Disunion candidate in the late Presidential contest had carried the united South, their scheme was, the Northern candidate successful to seize the Capitol last spring, and by an united South and divided North hold it. That scheme was defeated in the defeat of the Disunion candidate in several of the Southern States.

But this is no time for a detail of causes. The conspiracy is not known. Armies have been raised. War is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots or traitors.

Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question. [Cheers.] I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North.—They hoped in the Northern States, party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans, when the South would step in with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make easy prey of the victors. Their schemes were carnage and civil war in the North.

There is but one way to defeat this. In Illinois it being so defeated by closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope of peace I was ready for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the question comes of war in the cotton fields of the South or the corn fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the better.

We cannot close our eyes to the sad and solemn fact that war does exist.—The Government must be maintained, its enemies overthrown, and the more stupendous our preparations the less the bloodshed, and the shorter the struggle. But we must remember certain restraints on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people, and the war must be prosecuted in a manner recognized by Christian nations.

We must not invade constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will implore my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized. [Cheers.] The Constitution and its guarantees are our birthright and I am ready to enforce that inalienable right to the last extent. We cannot recognize Secession. Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved government, but you have destroyed social order, upturned the foundation of society.—You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French Revolution.

Then we have a solemn duty—to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity, the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome, from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all criminations and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. When we shall have again a country, with the United States flag floating over it, and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us. I have said more than I intended to say. [Cries of 'Go on!'] It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war; but, sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country.

I thank you again, for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position, United, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed.—[Prolonged cheering.]

LATEST NEWS

Midnight Dispatches.

THE CRITTENDEN PROPOSITION IN A NEW FORM.

Speech of Senator Douglas.

EXCITING SOUTHERN NEWS.

Course of the President.

Conspiracy to Seize Washington.

From our Senate report it will be seen that Mr. CRITTENDEN has submitted his proposition in a new form.

Also that Mr. DOUGLAS made an important speech yesterday.

Our despatches show that the President is firm in sustaining the laws.

The Southern news is of the most inflammatory character, and shows that we are in the midst of revolution.

The story of a plan to seize Washington and prevent LINCOLN'S inauguration is revived.

Congress.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3.

SENATE—The galleries and lobbies were again crowded.

A message from the House, informing the Senate of the passage of the Indian Appropriation bill, was received.

Mr. Bigler presented memorials, numerously signed by citizens of Philadelphia, asking the Senate to pass Mr. Crittenden's resolutions. If Congress would only give the people an opportunity they would embrace it, and their friends at the south would discover that the people were prepared to meet their complaints in a spirit of conciliation and kindness.

Mr. Crittenden offered the following resolution:—

Whereas, The Union is in danger, and it is difficult, if not impossible, for Congress to concur, by the requisite majority, so as to enable it to take such measures to recommend the States such amendments to the Constitution as are necessary to avert the danger.

And whereas, In so great an emergency the opinion and judgment of the people ought to be heard, therefore,

Resolved, That provision be made by law, without delay, for taking the sense of the people and submitting to them the following resolutions.

[The Clerk then read the Crittenden resolutions already published.]

Mr. C. said something must be done. It would be an open shame to the Government if ruin be allowed to come on the country. The sacrifice to be made was comparatively worthless. The peace and safety of a great country were never purchased so cheaply. He would appeal with confidence to the people. They have the greatest interest in the Government. He had confidence that the people would give good advice.

The resolutions were laid over, and the unfinished business of yesterday taken up.

Mr. Baker resumed his remarks and continued at considerable length. He closed with the words of Webster's speech in reply to Hayne.

MR. DOUGLAS SPEECH.

Mr. Douglas asked that the report of the Committee of Thirteen be taken up, and proceeded to address the Senate. He said no act of his public life ever gave him so much pain as to vote for the resolution that the committee could not agree. In order to see the real cause of the troubles, we must go back to the late

election. We should assume that whenever Congress undertook to act on the question of slavery discord and agitation were sure to follow. When Congress let the question alone there was peace.

He referred to the excitement at the time the Missouri Compromise was enacted. The fearful agitation of 1820 was settled by the compromise line. So long as that adjustment was carried out there was peace and quiet. Texas was admitted quietly under this rule, though there was a great contrariety of opinion, but no one objected because it extended that line. Again, California and New Mexico were acquired, and the extension of the line to the Pacific Ocean was demanded. The records show that he reported, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, a resolution to extend the line to the Pacific. This was adopted in the Senate, but when it was sent to the House it was rejected by Northern votes. That opened the floodgates of the agitation of 1848, which only was settled by the compromise of 1850. When we settled this question in the Territories, then we shall settle it entirely. The Abolitionists could never have brought the Union to the verge of destruction but for the question in the Territories.

It was a rejection of the extension of that line in 1848 that re-opened the agitation. The arguments of 1849 and 1850 were repeated. The positions of the north and the south were the same. The purest patriots in the land were alarmed, and Mr. Clay came back to the Senate to see if he could not bring peace. He found no trouble with the southern members, but he could find no support of this line from the north.

The Missouri line was abandoned because its friends could not carry it out in good faith. Then they turned to see what next was best to be done. There was a desire to take the question out of Congress and secure the peace of the country. At last it was decided to leave the question to the people of the Territories themselves. The record shows that he supported both compromises, and for the same reasons. Peace followed all over the country, but in 1855 and 1854 it became necessary to organize the Territory of Kansas and Nebraska. The committee in framing the bill determined to carry out the compromise measures of 1850, though they had all been in favor of the Missouri Compromise so long as it could be carried out.

A hue and cry was immediately raised that the Committee were violating a sacred compromise, but the bill did not mention the Missouri Compromise, but did give the people the power of settling the question for themselves.

The history of the government might be divided into three parts. Before 1820 the government admitted many territories, but all was peace. After the agitation of 1820 was settled all was peace again till 1850. Since then we have had continual controversy, and the result of the late election has convinced the South that is the fixed policy of the dominant party of the North to invade their constitutional rights.

The Senator from Ohio (Wade) admitted the existence of this belief at the South, but charged it to the misrepresentations of the Northern Democracy. It matters not whether these evils are real or imaginary, if the South were resolved to run into the horrors of disunion and war rather than suffer them. He was sorry to see the Senator bring in a partisan question here, but, as it was brought in, he felt bound to defend the Democracy. No man was better placed to learn that he had misrepresented the Republican party.

He asked the Senator from Ohio if it was not the policy of that party to confine slavery within its present limits by the Federal Government, and whether it was not the policy of that party, to exclude slavery from the Territories we now possess, or may hereafter acquire; whether or

not that party was in favor of returning fugitive slaves, and, in short, whether it was not the policy of that party to exert all the power of the Federal Government, under the Constitution, according to their interpretation, to restrain and cripple the institution of slavery, with a view to its ultimate extinction in the States, old as well as new, North and South.

Mr. Wade said he could find the answer in his speech, already made. He had no addition to make.

Mr. Douglas said he did not expect an equivocal answer. He proceeded to argue that such was the policy of the Republican party, and quoted Mr. Lincoln's speeches when he said, the crisis must come, and the States become all one thing or another, to show that he maintained such policy. He said he had a hope that Mr. Lincoln would repudiate all extreme sentiments, but be that as it may, neither he nor his party has the power to do harm to the South.

The South, however, are ready to rush into revolution and meet the consequences. No man would go further, than he to enforce the law, but he must look facts in the face. Rebellion often becomes successful revolution, and a government is often forced to recognize *de facto* governments in revolted provinces. But in this government the laws must be enforced by civil process.

How are we going to execute the law when the Federal Government has no power? How are we going to enforce the laws by civil process in South Carolina? He denied the right of secession, but she has done it, and how could we help it. South Carolina will not be alone, and how are we going to enforce the laws unless we make war and conquer that State? Are we prepared for war with our bretheren? He would not tolerate the idea until every hope of adjustment was gone. He was for peace to save the Union. War is disunion, certain and inevitable.

He referred to the purchase of Louisiana and said it was purchased for the benefit of the whole Union, and for the safety of the upper Mississippi in particular. The possession of that river is more necessary now than it was then. We cannot expect the people of the interior to admit the right of a foreign State taking possession of that river.

He also referred to the purchase of Florida, and the amount paid, and asked if she could go out now. The President, in his Message first said we could not coerce a State to remain in the Union, but in a few sentences he advised the acquisition of Cuba, as if should pay \$2,000,000 for Cuba and then the next day she might secede and re-annex herself to Spain, and Spain sell her again.

He had admitted that Texas cost us a war with Mexico and ten thousand lives. In the name of the 7,000 gallant men of Illinois, who fought those battles, he protested against the right of that State to secede.

Mr. Hemphill asked if the protection of Texas was the only right of the war, and if the United States paid anything to Texas for the land, and if we did not acquire California from the war?

Mr. Douglas said the only cause of complaint of Mexico was the annexation of Texas, and we had only paid for Texas \$10,000,000 and some barren lands she did not own. [Laughter.]

He said the Constitution was intended to be perpetual, and he denied the right of secession under the Constitution, as against the Constitution and against justice and good faith. He said there could be no government without coercion, but coercion must be used in the mode prescribed by law. This is not a question of coercion in a State where no authority of the Federal Government remains. We are bound to recognize a government *de facto*, when the State maintains individual sway.

The man who loves the Union, who loves to see the laws enforced, will love to see rebellion put down. How does he intend to enforce the law in a seceding State, except by making war. In his opinion they had reached the point when disunion was inevitable unless a compromise founded on concession could be made. He preferred compromise to war, and concession to disunion. No compromise would be available which does not carry the question of slavery beyond Congress.

He said he had voted for the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) and was ready to vote for it again. Why cannot the Republicans agree on the Missouri Compromise line. They had hurled curses enough on his head for repealing it to be glad now to re-establish it. He had helped to support that measure until he was compelled to abandon it. He was willing now to meet on terms of mutual concession. He had offered another proposition to leave the Territories in *statu quo* till they have 50,000 inhabitants, and then settle the question themselves, and also to provide for the removal of the negroes, if the territories chose, to certain provinces.

If the Republicans do not intend to interfere with slavery in the States, why not put in an amendment to the Constitution? There must be a settlement of some sort now. It cannot be postponed. We are in a state of revolution. It is compromise or war. He preferred compromise. He said it seemed as though the Senators on the other side were determined to act as a party. Let the people decide the question. No doubt the people of Massachusetts are opposed to slavery extension, but he thought if the question was submitted to-day of the resolutions of Mr. Crittenden, they would ratify them.

Mr. Toombs moved to postpone until Monday, when he proposed to offer some remarks. Agreed to, and the Senate adjourned until Saturday.

BY TELEGRAPH

TO THE

BOSTON DAILY EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE TRANSCRIPT.]

THE SOUTH AGAIN OFFENDED.

Collision Anticipated at Pensacola.

THE SECESSIONISTS CONDEMNING THE VISIT OF THE BROOKLYN.

Western Visitors at the Capital.

MR. RICE PRESENTS THE BOSTON MEMORIAL.

THE PROPOSITION OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

WASHINGTON, Monday noon.

The sailing of the United States steamer Brooklyn, with troops and supplies for the Southern Forts, continues to be the topic of conversation here.

A collision is anticipated at Pensacola, as the disunionists have sent telegrams to their Florida friends to make an attack on Fort Pickens before the fortress can be relieved by the Brooklyn.

Ex-President Tyler had a long interview with Senator Crittenden this morning. It is reported that both these gentlemen condemn the President for sending the steamer Brooklyn to the South, and aver that the act is a violation of the pledge to preserve the peace.

Mr. Tyler is anxiously awaiting despatches from Judge Robinson at Pensacola, in regard to the state of affairs there. The Ex-President will probably return to Virginia tomorrow.

The members of the Board of Trade at Chicago and Milwaukee, numbering one hundred, arrived in this city this morning, and will leave for home tomorrow.

The Hon. Alexander H. Rice has just presented the Boston memorial in the House of Representatives. It was enveloped by the national flag, and signed by fourteen thousand persons, who ask Congress that such measures may be speedily adopted, for the pacific settlement of our present difficulties, as will embrace substantially such a plan of compromise as may be deemed expedient to restore tranquillity and peace to our now distracted country.

Senator Douglas will soon introduce a plan for amending the Constitution—simply depriving Congress of all power over the subject of slavery and prohibiting the slave trade.

The Illinois Senator thinks his plan may harmonize the present difficulties and should be satisfactory to all the disaffected. Several Senators have promised to support the measure.

FROM WASHINGTON.

THE PRESIDENT ELECT ON COMPROMISES.

Senator Mason Insolent to Mr. Winthrop.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD TO BE VETOED.

Southern Forts to be Reinforced.

NAVAL FORCE SENT TO THE SOUTH.

THE STEAMER JOSEPH WHITNEY SUCCESSFUL.

New York, 28th. The rumor in regard to the seizure of the capital is revived. It receives little credit.

The President today will send to Congress the Virginia resolutions, stating that he can make no arrangements in regard to the future, but leaves the whole matter in their hands.

Mr. Adams's plan of adjustment of the existing troubles seems to be gaining friends.

Gentlemen who have held an interview with Mr. Lincoln at Springfield within a week, say the latter expressed himself as follows: "I will suffer death before I will consent, or advise my friends to consent, to any secession or compromise which looks like buying the privilege of taking possession of this government, to which we have a constitutional right, because, whatever I might think of the merit of the various propositions before Congress, I should regard any secession in the face of menace as the destruction of government itself, and a consent on all hands that our system shall be brought down to the level of the existing disorganized state of affairs in Mexico. But this thing will hereafter be, as now, in the hands of the people, and if they desire to call a convention to remove any grievances, or give new guarantees for the permanence of vested rights, it is not mine to oppose."

In the conversation Mr. Lincoln urged no objection to the border State or Etheridge proposition as a future basis of agreement if the Republicans as a party desire it.

The Washington correspondent of the Times states that Mr. Winthrop called on Senator Mason, and, referring to the Senator's former visit, remarked, "I hope, Mr. Mason, we shall see you again on Bunker Hill," to which the Senator stiffly replied, "Not unless I come as an Ambassador, sir."

The same correspondent is fully satisfied that it is the intention of the President to veto the Pacific Railroad.

The Herald correspondent says—Ex-President Tyler has sent a message to the President asking whether reinforcements have been sent to Fort Sumter? The President replied that he was not aware that any reinforcements have been sent there, but gave no information respecting the movements of the Brooklyn. She is supposed to have gone to Fort Pickens.

General Scott a few days ago informed the Committee that called on him, that the government intend to quietly relieve several Southern forts, and that there would be a pretty large naval force two weeks hence off Pensacola.

Reliable information from Harrisburg says that the Crittenden Bill will pass the Legislature if correct resolutions be adopted by Congress.

A despatch to the Herald from Washington says, it has been discovered that 60 men have banded together, for some purpose, probably to prevent Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, although their exact intention is unknown. Certain prominent officials are said to be involved.

Savannah, 27th. Steamer Joseph Whitney arrived off this port yesterday, having landed her troops at Tortugas, and was to proceed to Baltimore to load for Boston.

A New Plan of Settlement—Propositions by Judge Douglas.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21, 1861.

Judge Douglas will offer an amendment to the Constitution, consisting of eight sections, under Article 13. These propositions have been laid before a number of Senators, who think favorably of them. They will be offered as a substitute to Mr. Crittenden's, and are as follows:—

SECTION 1. Congress shall make no laws in respect to domestic servitude in any Territory of the United States, and all Territorial governments shall be formed on the model and in the terms of the organic act approved September 9, 1850, called the "Compromise Measures," and the validity of all Territorial enactments shall be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, on appeal or writ of errors, from the Territorial courts; but no new Territory shall be organized until it shall contain twenty thousand white inhabitants, nor shall any new State be admitted into the Union until it shall contain the requisite population for a representative in Congress, according to the then federal ratio of representation.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have no power to abolish or interfere with the relation of persons held to service or labor in any State under the laws thereof; nor in any place under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress and situate within the limits of any State or Territory under whose laws persons are held to service or labor; nor shall Congress have power to abolish or impair the relation of persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia under the laws in force therein, without the consent of Maryland and Virginia, so long as such relation shall exist in either of those States under the laws thereof; nor shall Congress have power to interfere with or prevent the removal of persons held to service or labor from one State or Territory to another.

SEC. 3. The African slave trade shall be forever suppressed, and it shall be the duty of Congress to make such laws as will effectually prevent the immigration or importation into the United States of persons held to service or labor for life, or for a period of years, or of any person intended to be so held, in any State or place within the United States, under any pretence whatever.

SEC. 4. The second clause of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution shall be construed to include all crimes committed within and against the State or place from which the fugitive fled, whether the acts charged were criminal or not in the place where the fugitive was found.

SEC. 5. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether federal, State, Territorial or municipal, shall not be exercised by persons of the African race, in whole or in part.

SEC. 6. The United States shall have power to acquire districts of country in Africa or South America for the colonization at the expense of the federal treasury, of such free negroes as mulattoes as the several States may desire to have removed from within their limits, and from the District of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress.

SEC. 7. Whether any person held to service or labor, as provided in the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution, shall escape, and the Marshal or other officer, whose duty it may be to arrest such fugitive, shall be prevented from doing so by violence or intimidation, or when after arrest such fugitive shall be rescued by force, Congress shall have power, and it shall be its duty, to provide by law for the payment of the full value of such fugitive to the party to whom such service or labor may be due; and in all

cases when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the right in their own name to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation or rescue was committed, and to recover the amount paid by them, with interest and damages; and the said county for its indemnity may sue and recover from the wrong doers or rescuers the amount paid to the United States, together with interest and damages.

SEC. 8. The first and second clauses of the first section of the second article of the constitution shall read as follows:

"The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. The President and Vice-President shall hold their offices for the term of six years, and shall be ineligible to the office of President for the ensuing six years after having performed the duties of President, and shall be elected as follows.—The Legislature of each State, at its first session after any federal census, shall divide said State into as many Congressional districts as it shall be entitled to representatives in Congress, which districts shall be as compact in form and nearly equal in population as practicable. In each of said districts one elector of President and Vice-President shall be chosen by the people thereof having the qualifications requisite for electors of representatives in Congress, and in addition two electors for the State at large shall be chosen by the members of the Legislature, assembled in joint convention for that purpose, on the day appointed by Congress."

—on the New

FOR THE REGISTER. *Feb 1, 1861*
TO THE PEOPLE OF ROCKINGHAM.

On Monday next, February 4th, you, the people of Rockingham—part and parcel of this great American nation,—will be expected to be at the polls, and it will be your duty, then and there, by your votes given, to say whether you have confidence in a Constitutional republican system, whether or not you believe honest people capable of governing themselves. This has been, necessarily, a very short campaign, and the people have been obliged to think fast, and with now, I trust, act wisely. I know they will desire to do so. From the reflection I have been able to give the whole matter, I think I have discovered two important points for our decision. The first, that of holding in our own hands the final action of the Convention; and next, to try and send there the most reliable Union men we have as candidates now before us. Now, I, as one of the people, shall surely vote that the action of this Convention shall come back to the people for their ratification. I am not willing that 152 men shall have the power of precipitating Virginia out of this Union, and into civil war, when, perhaps, one hundred thousand of her citizens would oppose it. Hear me, then, men of Rockingham. Let us, you and I, reserve to ourselves the right of making or not—as we please—this war, which, when made, we ourselves will be expected to fight.

Then, I said another important point is, that we should send the most reliable Union men to that Convention,—men who will do their utmost to save, men with a true Union record,—men who, whilst they would be far from tamely succumbing to any insult or wrong upon Virginia, would nevertheless remember that “a soft answer turneth away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger.” Now, I submit to you, Union men of Rockingham, whether or not Col. Galt, John Lewis and Geo. Christian do not fill up the measure of good Union men? and whether you Union men do not believe with me, that if those three men in Convention should go for Virginia seceding from the Union, though it brought with it civil war with all its horrors, we ourselves, had we been there, would have done the same thing; and there would be some consolation for us, when surrounded by troubles and sorrows, in the thought that all had been done that could be done to avert the great calamity. I have not allowed myself, and I trust no voter will allow party politics to be mixed up with the grave and important matters now before us.

For myself I can only say that I have always been a democrat, and in the last Presidential contest was, and am now, a warm admirer and a zealous supporter of

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

FROM WASHINGTON.

Senator Douglas on the Union.

WASHINGTON, April 14.

Senator Douglas called on the President to-night. He had an interesting conversation on the present condition of the country. The substance of it was on the part of Mr. Douglas, that while he was unalterably opposed to the Administration on all its political issues, he was prepared to sustain the President in the exercise of all his constitutional functions to preserve the Union, maintain the Government, and defend the Federal Capital. A firm policy and prompt action were necessary. The Capital of our country was in danger, and must be protected at all hazards, at any expense of men and money. He spoke of the present and future, without reference to the past. Mr. Lincoln was very much gratified with the interview.

DOUGLAS AT COLUMBUS.

His Speech—"Trade and Commerce the Issue."

COLUMBUS, April 23, 1861.

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas and his wife arrived at Columbus at midnight, *en route* for Illinois. The train upon which they were traveling, missed connection, and obliged them to remain over until the 11:50 express train, this morning for Cincinnati. Mr. Douglas was obliged to respond to popular clamor, and at 10 o'clock made a speech upon the war question from the northern portico of the State House.

MR. DOUGLAS' SPEECH.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—This large assemblage, brought together so suddenly and so early in the morning, indicates the deep interest now felt in our common country. Never since the Revolution, has there been such a crisis as every American citizen is now about to experience. The federal capitol is threatened; the records and archives of the government are in danger; the President of the nation himself might be made a captive. Will the people of this good valley stay home while their rights are endangered, or are they ready to rescue their government and its constitutional authorities from the hands of all assailants? [Cries, We will defend him. Rescue, &c.]

I never will advise or sanction violence or war against any of the constitutional rights or privileges, or local institutions of the South. On the contrary, I am ever ready to rush to the rescue, if their rights are invaded. But they might as well understand at once and for ever, that the people of this great Western valley will never permit the navigation of the Mississippi to be obstructed one whit more than the Atlantic, or Pacific coast. [Cheers.] I would never violate their rights; nor would never lay down our arms while they undertake to violate our rights. [Great shouting.] The right of free trade, free commerce to this valley from the center to the circumference of the continent, without taxation, free intercourse with every part without restriction, is ours and must not be obstructed.

The issue is not the negro. It is the great question of free trade, the great commercial question. This rises supreme above all others. Whenever we recognize the right to levy duties on the commerce of the Mississippi, we open the way to unlimited abuses. We should even be shut out from our sea-coasts, be landlocked and restricted in our energies and rights. The people of this valley, with whom the seat of empire must ever remain, will thus be reduced to mere colonial dependencies, without revenue of our own, but all collected from our commerce, and expended without our will or agency.

The question is above all the negroes in Christendom; it involves the freedom and independence of the ten millions—soon to be a hundred millions—of free white men in this valley. [Cheers.] Already the worst features of European despotism, without one of its redeeming features, have been established by the seceded States. How would you like to have the passport system of Europe, with all its despicable annoyances, established among you—forbidding you to enter or leave a petty town without interrogation and close examination from petty authorities stopping you, and requiring you, like a nigger on a Southern plantation, to show your pass from your master to go from one neighbor to another? How would you like to sell your horse for one hundred dollars, and be compelled to pay the government another hundred for the privilege? Would you permit the States to tax your produce the moment it crosses the line?

Mr. Douglas proceeded in strong language to describe the systems of despotic Europe, which he said the South is now trying to establish here, and denounced them with great power.

These questions ought to command the united heart, intellect, energies, and muscle of every American citizen. They are above the negro. They involve our rights. So help me God, I will never sanction a war against the rights of any people on earth, but if war must come it must be one of self defence. Therefore, my countrymen, we are bound by every duty to defend our Federal Capital; to rally [cheers] around the constitutional authorities—legally and constitutionally placed in authority by the voice of the American people. [Great applause.] We must rally to the defense of that government which is the birthright of every American citizen.

It is no time now to enquire what lines of policy have produced the present condition of the country; whether this party or another, this platform or that; [applause,] but we must re-establish the Union; banish all party pleas; restore peace, and when we have a country, we can amuse ourselves with the delightful occupation of criminating one another, and asking "who did it?" He could be as good a partisan as any other man, but he thanked God he could rise above his party and devote himself to the common good, and he knew every true American citizen had done so.

Mr. Douglas then described a glorious Union meeting at Bellair, yesterday, of which one third were from Ohio, the masses from Wheeling, who had come over to give testimony of their love for the Union—and "wo to the man," "who among those Virginians would have raised a secession flag." Tremendous applause.]

But he had already transcended his limits. [Cries of "go on."] It is now the time for acting, not for speeches. He was glad to learn at this noble capital of this great State, that our people are rallying their whole force to defend the country. He bid them God speed. He hoped they would hush every voice of party, and as one man unite for the defense of the government, the Union, and the old flag of our country. "When once more we have a country, if you should then want a speech from me, I reckon you can get one," [laughter,] but now he could only speak for the glorious flag of our country.

FOR DOUGLAS DEMOCRATS. A friend of Senator Douglas has handed to the National Intelligencer for publication a copy of a letter from him, written in May last, on the state of the country, from which the following extract will be read with general interest:

"It seems that some of my friends are unable to comprehend the difference between arguments used in favor of an equitable compromise, with the hope of averting the horrors of war, and those urged in support of the Government and the flag of our country, when war is being waged against the United States with the avowed purpose of producing a permanent disruption of the Union and a total destruction of its Government.

All hope of compromise with the Cotton States was abandoned when they assumed the position that the separation of the Union was complete and final, and that they would never consent to a reconstruction in any contingency—not even if we would furnish them with a blank sheet of paper and permit them to inscribe their own terms.

Still the hope was cherished that reasonable and satisfactory terms of adjustment could be agreed upon with Tennessee, North Carolina and the border States, and that whatever terms would prove satisfactory to these loyal States would create a Union party in the Cotton States, which would be powerful enough at the ballot-box to destroy the revolutionary government, and bring those States back into the Union by the voice of their own people. This hope was cherished by Union men North and South, and was never abandoned until war was levied at Charleston and the authoritative announcement made by the revolutionary government at Montgomery, that the secession flag should be planted upon the walls of the capitol at Washington, and a proclamation issued inviting the pirates of the world to prey upon the commerce of the United States.

These startling facts, in connection with the boastful announcement that the ravages of war and carnage should be quickly transferred from the cotton fields of the South to the wheat fields and corn fields of the North, furnish conclusive evidence that it was the fixed purpose of the secessionists utterly to destroy the Government of our Fathers and obliterate the United States from the map of the world.

In view of this state of facts there was but one path of duty left to patriotic men. It was not a party question, nor a question involving partisan policy; it was a question of government or no government; country or no country; and hence it became the imperative duty of every Union man, every friend of constitutional liberty, to rally to the support of our common country, its government and flag, as the only means of checking the progress of revolution and of preserving the union of States.

I am unable to answer your questions in respect to the policy of Mr. Lincoln and Cabinet. I am not in their confidence, as you and the whole country ought to be aware. I am neither the supporter of the partisan policy nor the apologist of the Administration. My previous relations to them remain unchanged; but I trust the time will never come when I shall not be willing to make any needful sacrifice of personal feeling and party policy for the honor and integrity of my country.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Was the Little Giant Faint-Hearted in the Nation's Greatest Crisis?
A Statement that Douglas Did Not Write the Famous St. Louis Dispatch.
His Union Record Saved from Stain by the Interposition of a Friend.

NEW YORK, July 4.--[Special.]--A remarkable statement in reference to the most important event in the life of Stephen A. Douglas was made to your correspondent today by ex-Senator Edward Larned of Greenfield, Mass. Mr. Larned is well known in New York. He was at one time President of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad and very wealthy. Has dropped a good deal of money in the Tehauntepec [sic] Railroad in Mexico, but is still well off and lives much of the time at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. In conversation he is a genial companion. He said:

"I was in Canada when the War broke out, and had been away from home for three weeks. Coming across Suspension Bridge I heard the news that the flag had been fired on at Sumter. I had always been a Democrat, but I said: 'Off goes this Democratic coat till this thing is settled.' I got to New York and found a message from Stephen A. Douglas asking me to come to Washington. I sent up to my house on Fifth avenue for a change of linen and went on to the Capital. Douglas was sick with diphtheria. His physician, his wife and a Catholic priest were there. As the doctor went away he said to Douglas: 'Now, no talking or excitement, Senator.' But he was no sooner gone than Douglas asked me to step into the library while he dressed, saying he would join me presently.

BLAINE'S POLICY FORESHADOWED.

He explained that he had been preparing for the draft of a commercial bill for a union on a business basis of all the American countries, a sort of zollverein for the United States, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, and Central America. He proposed to have an

offensive and defensive commercial alliance, all disputes to be left to a commercial tribunal. Mr. Douglas said to me: "I have desired to read this paper to some friend who will criticise it candidly and mercilessly, if need be." The paper he held was a voluminous one. He was reading and discussing its points when a telegraph message was brought in. He read it and immediately began to use emphatic language in denunciation of the telegraphic system and the liberties it permitted to be taken with public men. He got angrier as he proceeded, and it was with difficulty that I managed to get in an inquiry as to what was the matter. He read the dispatch, as follows:

"Do you approve and sustain Lincoln's War policy? Missouri will not.

"I said I would not answer such a dispatch, and he rejoined: 'This is the penalty for being a public man. It is from the editor of the leading paper in St. Louis. I cannot refuse an answer.'

A POLITICIAN'S VACILLATION.

"He wrote a reply, which he read to me. I will not attempt to repeat it. It was a politician's dispatch.

"I would't send it," I said.

"Mr. Douglas' face clouded, and he said imperiously: 'I was not aware that I had sent for you to criticise my telegraphic dispatches.' I made the best excuse possible, when he suddenly turned on me and demanded to know why I would not send the message. I protested that, having blundered once in saying I would not send it, I did not propose to blunder again. He said angrily that he would not send a reply until I had explained to him my opinion. I then said in substance: Senator, the entire Democratic party of the country is waiting to hear from Stephen A. Douglas. Your constituents in Illinois are resting secure in your ability to meet the emergency of the hour. But if you send that dispatch the heart of every friend you have in the North will sink. It seems to me impossible that a man born in Vermont would vacillate or be unsound on this great

question."

"Said he: 'I am as sound as any man in this country.'

"And I replied: 'Yes, Senator; but unfortunately, your dispatch is not.' He protested again, and, taking up the paper, read his dispatch with a punctuation and emphasis that were sufficient to give it the true ring. But I told him plainly that the telegraph wires would not punctuate, or emphasize, or transmit the tones of his voice; but the words he had written might be twisted in a good many ways--that it was of a 'do-you-ride-to-town-today?' character. I took his dispatch and read it with my own emphasis, putting a contrary construction on it.

"He said: 'That does sound d--d equivocal as you read it.'

THAT FAMOUS DISPATCH.

"He tore it up and wrote another, which he read aloud. I burst out laughing, and, when he turned on me inquiringly, explained that I was laughing at his ability to write a second dispatch that was worse than the first. Then he said, somewhat petulantly: "Well, I am ill; my head is perhaps not clear. sit down here and write out what you would send.' I sat down and wrote these words:

"I deprecate war. But if it must come, I am with my country and for my country under all circumstances and in every contingency. Individual policy must be subordinate to the public safety.

"He read it carefully and signed his name to it and sent it away.

"'Senator,' I suggested, 'they may garble that dispatch in St. Louis. May I not send it also to New York?'

"'It has gone from me now. You can do as you please,' he said.

"I went to the telegraph office and sent a copy of it to Simeon Draper, the old auctioneer, who was Chairman of the Union Defense Committee. It was so late at night that he only got it into one paper, the New York Tribune. This was the 17th of April,

1861.

THE DEATH SHAFT.

"There is one thing more ought to be said right here. It was Douglas' dispatch to the St. Louis paper that cleared all doubt in Illinois and caused a monster Union meeting to be planned at Chicago. They sent for Douglas. He got up from his sick bed, went there and spoke while yet suffering from diptheria, and never recovered from the effort.

"Judge Tree, with whom I was talking today about this incident, says that Douglas died of typhoid-fever. The Judge, by the way, has the original draft of the challenge sent by Abraham Lincoln to Douglas for the debate which elevated the former to the Presidency.

DOUGLAS' FAMOUS DISPATCH.

CHICAGO, July 6.--[Editor of the Tribune.]--Ex-State Senator Larned of Massachusetts claims in the statement published in your Sunday edition that he was the author of the dispatch signed by Senator Douglas which first committed the latter to the cause of the Union, and which dispatch "first appeared in the New York Tribune April 17, 1861." Fort Sumter was fired upon April 12, and Mr. Lincoln's proclamation calling out 75,000 troops appeared April 15 of that year. The story then ran, and has been told so often since as to have become engrafted in history somewhere, that the Hon. George Ashmun of Massachusetts, President of the Republican Convention in this city in 1860, when Mr. Lincoln was nominated, took the proclamation before it was made public, with Mr. Lincoln's consent, to Mr. Douglas, and that the latter, after deliberating some time upon it, and listening carefully to the powerful and patriotic appeals from Mr. Ashmun, thereupon gave the latter written authority to send simultaneously his hearty approval of the measure. This much is certain, that the telegraph that bore the proclamation across the country at the same time announced the fact that the Little Giant had fully indorsed it, and declared that in such a crisis there could be but two parties--"patriots and traitors." This was two days before Mr. Senator Larned claims to have directed the course of Senator Douglas and brought him into the ranks and under the flag of the Union party. Mr. Ashmun died in 1870, and, while no one would willingly detract from the credit due Mr. Larned for penning such a patriotic reply to the inquiry from St. Louis: "Do you approve and sustain Mr. Lincoln's war policy?" (which in itself proves that Mr. Douglas had at some time and some way previously declared that he did, or the question would not have been asked, would it?) yet nothing in his highly-interesting statement should be construed to take the credit from Mr. Ashmun for the timely diplomacy that brought to Mr. Lincoln's side the favorite of the Northern Democracy and soon thereafter so many regiments of his followers into the army of

the Union.

MARTIN BEEM.

Dinner, last left





Lincoln Lore

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Printing Lincoln's Inaugural Address

Editor's Note: Following Abraham Lincoln's inauguration as President of the United States, a special session of the Senate met on Wednesday, March 6, 1861. At this session Senator James Dixon, a Republican from Connecticut, offered the following resolution: "Resolved, that there be printed for the use of the Senate, the usual number of copies of the inaugural address of the President of the United States."

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution. This motion to print the inaugural speech of the President was a most unusual procedure. Likely, the real reason for the motion was to give the political friends of the President an opportunity to expound the views of Lincoln as set forth in his paper. This motion led to a debate that lasted two days. The Southern senators professed to read in Lincoln's inaugural a declaration of war and this contention was vigorously expressed by Senator Thomas L. Clingman, a Democrat from North Carolina. Finally, on March 8, 1861, the Dixon resolution to print the inaugural was adopted.

Throughout the long debate Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a Democrat from Illinois, assumed a surprising position by declaring that Mr. Lincoln's inaugural was not equivalent to a war declaration, rather that it would lead to a peaceful solution of our national difficulties. His speech (Monaghan No. 96) follows:

"Mr. President: I cannot assent to the construction which the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Clingman] has placed upon the President's inaugural. I have read it carefully, with a view of ascertaining distinctly what the policy of the Administration is to be. The inaugural is characterized by ability, and by directness on certain points; but with such reservations and qualifications as require a critical analysis to arrive at its true construction on other points. I have made such an analysis, and come to the conclusion that it is a peace offering rather than a war message. Having examined it critically, I think I can demonstrate that there is no foundation for the apprehension which has been spread through the country that this message is equivalent to a declaration of war; that it commits the President of the United States to recapture the forts in the seceded States, and to hold them at all hazards, to collect the revenue under all circumstances, and to execute the laws in all the States, no matter what may be the circumstances that surround him. I do not understand that to be the character of the message. On the contrary, I understand it to contain a distinct pledge that the policy of the Administration shall be conducted with exclusive reference to a peaceful solution of our national difficulties. True, the President indicates a certain line of policy which he intends to pursue, so far as it may be consistent with the peace of the country, but he assures us that this policy will be modified and changed whenever necessary to a peaceful solution of these difficulties.

"The address is not as explicit as I could desire on certain points; on certain other points it is explicit. The message is explicit and certain upon the point that the President will not, directly or indirectly, interfere with

the institution of slavery within the States—is specific upon the point that he will do everything in his power to give a faithful execution to the Constitution and the laws for the return of fugitive slaves—is explicit upon the point that he will not oppose such amendments to the Constitution as may be deemed necessary to settle the slavery question and restore peace to the country. Then, it proceeds to indicate a line of policy for his Administration. He declares that, in view of the Constitution and laws, the Union remains unbroken. I do not suppose any man can deny the proposition, that in contemplation of law, the Union remains intact, no matter what the fact may be. There may be a separation *de facto*, temporary or permanent, as the sequel may prove; but, in contemplation of the Constitution and the laws, the Union does remain unbroken. I think no one can deny the correctness of the proposition, as a constitutional principle. Let us go further and see what there is in the address that is supposed to pledge the President to a coercive policy. He says: 'I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States.' This declaration is relied upon as a conclusive evidence that coercion is to be used in the seceding States; but take the next sentence: 'Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part. I shall perform it, so far as is practicable, unless'—unless what? Let us see what the condition is on the happening of which he will not enforce the laws—'unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some other authoritative manner direct the contrary.'

"This condition, on which he will not enforce the laws in the seceding States, is not as explicit as I could desire. When he alludes to his 'rightful masters, the American people,' I suppose he means the action of Congress in withholding the requisite means. Query: Does he wish to be understood as saying that the existing laws confer upon him 'the requisite means?' or, does he mean

to say that inasmuch as the existing laws do not confer the requisite means, he cannot execute the laws in the seceding States unless those means shall be conferred by Congress? The language employed would seem to imply that the President was referring to the future action of Congress as necessary to give him the requisite means to enforce obedience to the laws in the seceding States. Doubtless the President was not uninformed of the fact that his friends in the House of Representatives had prepared a force bill, conferring these requisite means to coerce obedience in the seceding



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Stephen A. Douglas, running on the Northern Democratic ticket, was one of three candidates defeated by Lincoln in the Presidential Campaign of 1860. He received 12 electoral votes but ranked second to Lincoln with a popular vote of 1,376,957.

States, and that that bill was defeated in the House. He must be aware, historically, that in 1832, General Jackson deemed additional legislation necessary to enforce the revenue laws at Charleston, and that a force bill was then passed, which expired by its own limitation in a short time, I think two years, and is not now in force. Does Mr. Lincoln consider that he has any more power to coerce the collection of the revenue in Charleston harbor without further legislation than General Jackson had in 1832? When he pledges himself to collect the revenue and to enforce the laws in those States, unless Congress withholds the requisite means to enable him to do so, is he not to be understood that whether he does enforce them or not depends upon the future action of Congress? I think that is the proper construction of his language.

"In a subsequent paragraph he says: 'The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts.' What power? Does he mean that which has been confided, or that which may be confided? Does he mean that he will exercise the power unless Congress directs the contrary, or that he will exercise it when Congress confers it? I regret that this clause is understood by some persons as meaning that the President will use the whole military force of the country to recapture the forts, and other places, which have been seized without the assent of Congress. If such was his meaning, he was unfortunate in the selection of words to express the idea. He does not say that he will recapture or retake, hold and occupy the forts and other places. Nor does he say that he will recommend to Congress to furnish him men and money for such a purpose; but 'the power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government.' To say the least of it, this is equivocal language. I am not going to condemn him for it; my present object is not to censure, but to ascertain the true meaning of the inaugural, in order to learn whether the Administration is committed to an aggressive policy, which must inevitably involve us in civil war, or to a peaceful solution of our national troubles. He says further, 'but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.' He will use the power confided to him to hold, occupy, and possess the forts and other property, and to collect the revenue; but beyond these objects he will not use that power. I am unable to understand the propriety of the distinction between enforcing the revenue laws and all other laws. If it is his duty to enforce the revenue laws, why is it not his duty to enforce the other laws of the land? What right has he to say that he will enforce those laws that enable him to raise revenue, to levy and collect these taxes from the people, and that he will not enforce the laws which protect the rights of persons and property to the extent that the Constitution confers the power in those States? I reject the distinction; it cannot be justified in law or in morals. If taxes are to be collected, and the revenue laws are to be enforced, the laws that afford protection, as a compensation for the taxes, must also be enforced.

"The next paragraph is also objectionable. I will read it:

"Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices."

"I rejoice to know that he will not attempt to force obnoxious strangers to hold office in the interior places where public sentiment is hostile; but why draw the distinction between 'interior localities' and exterior places? Why the distinction between the States in the interior and those upon the sea-board? If he has the power in the one case, he has it in the other; if it be his duty in one case, it is his duty in the other. There is no provision of the Constitution or the laws which authorizes a distinction between the places upon the sea-board and the places in the interior.

"This brings me to the consideration of another clause

in the message which I deem the most important of all, and the key to his entire policy. I rejoiced when I read this declaration, and I wish to invite the attention of the Senate to it especially, as showing conclusively that Mr. Lincoln stands pledged to that policy which will lead to a peaceful solution, and against every policy that leads to the contrary. I will read the paragraph:

"The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections."

"After indicating the line of policy which he would pursue, if consistent with the peace of the country, he tells us emphatically that that course will be followed unless modifications and changes should be necessary to a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and if in any case or exigency a change of policy should be necessary, it will be made 'with a view and hope of a peaceful solution.' In other words, if the collection of the revenue leads to a peaceful solution, it is to be collected; if the abandonment of that policy is necessary to a peaceful solution, the revenue is not to be collected; if the recapture of Fort Moultrie would tend to a peaceful solution, he stands pledged to recapture it; if the recapture would tend to violence and war, he is pledged not to recapture it; if the enforcement of the laws in the seceding States would tend to facilitate a peaceful solution, he is pledged to their enforcement; if the omission to enforce those laws would best facilitate peace, he is pledged to omit to enforce them; if maintaining possession of Fort Sumter would facilitate peace, he stands pledged to retain its possession; if, on the contrary, the abandonment of Fort Sumter and the withdrawal of the troops would facilitate a peaceful solution, he is pledged to abandon the fort and withdraw the troops.

"Sir, this is the only construction that I can put upon this clause. If this be not the true interpretation, for what purpose was it inserted? The line of policy that he had indicated was stated vaguely; but there is not a pledge to use coercion; there is not a pledge to retain a fort; there is not a pledge to recapture an arsenal; there is not a pledge to collect revenue; there is not a pledge to enforce the laws unless there is attached to each the condition; and the condition is, that he will do it only when that course tends to a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and that he will not do it in any case where it does not tend to a peaceful solution.

"I submit, then, to the Senator whether the friends of peace have not much to rejoice at in the inaugural address of the President. It is a much more conservative document than I had anticipated. It is a much more pacific and conciliatory paper than I had expected. I would not venture the expression of an opinion upon it on hearing it delivered, until I had carefully examined and analyzed it. After examination, I am clearly of the opinion that the Administration stands pledged by the inaugural to a peaceful solution of all our difficulties, to do no act that leads to war, and to change its policy just so often and whenever a change is necessary to preserve the peace.

"So much, sir for the policy of the Administration. Now a few words upon the President's views of the causes of the present difficulties and the remedies for those difficulties. In a manner peculiar to himself and to his usual course of argument, he proceeds to show, first, what did not produce the trouble. Let us see what did not do it:

"All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly-written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly-written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case."

"Here we are told that these difficulties have not grown out of the violation of any express provision of the Constitution; they have not arisen from the denial of any right guaranteed by an express provision. He then

proceeds to show that is the cause of the trouble. Here it is:

"But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities."

"From questions of this class spring' all our troubles. What class? The attempt of Congress to exercise power on the slavery question where there is no 'express' provision of the Constitution conferring the power; the attempt on the one side to prohibit slavery, and the attempt on the other side to protect it, where there is no 'express' provision authorizing either—these are the causes of our present troubles, according to the statement of the President. The causes are to be traced to the absence of any constitutional provision defining the extent of the power of Congress over this subject. If the President has stated the causes of our difficulties fairly and truly; if they all arise from the absence of a constitutional provision on the subject of slavery in the Territories, what is the remedy? The remedy must be to adopt an amendment that will make an express constitutional provision on the subject. The absence of such a provision being the cause, the supplying of such a provision must be the remedy. Hence the President has demonstrated with great clearness and force the absolute necessity of such amendments to the Constitution of the United States as will define and settle the question whether or not Congress has the power to prohibit slavery; whether or not it has the power to protect slavery; whether or not it has the power to legislate on the subject at all. He gives us to understand that there will never be peace until that question is settled; it cannot be settled except by amendments to the Constitution; and hence he proceeds to tell us how such amendments can be obtained. He tells us that these amendments to the Constitution may be obtained in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument: the one where Congress takes the initiative, as we did the other day, and submits the proposed amendments to the States; the other is where the States take the initiative, and demand a national convention to amend the Constitution.

"The President says that he prefers a national convention as the most appropriate mode, but he has no insuperable objections to the other mode, and he will not oppose, but gives us to understand he will favor the ratification by the States of the amendment already proposed prohibiting any future amendment whereby Congress may be authorized to interfere with slavery in the States. He assigns for his preference for a national convention a very plausible, in fact a very satisfactory reason. It is that if Congress originated the amendments it might not devise such as the people would like, whereas if you allow the people to take the initiative, they will make such amendments as they want. The President stands pledged by his inaugural 'to allow the people to devise their own amendments to the Constitution and not to interfere with, but rather to favor their adoption, whatever they may be.'

"What is the inference from all this? Inasmuch as all our troubles arise from the attempt on the part of Congress to prohibit slavery without the sanction of an express provision of the Constitution, and the counter attempt on the part of Congress to protect slavery without an express provision of the Constitution authorizing it, therefore such an amendment must be made as will settle the slavery question by an express provision and he will not oppose the amendment. Hence we are authorized to infer that if the people do originate such amendments to the Constitution as will settle the slavery question—even if the settlement be repugnant to the principles of the Republican party, in violation of the Chicago platform, and against the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories, Mr. Lincoln and his administration will not oppose, but favor it.

"What more can be asked? If the people, when they come to amend the Constitution, shall determine that

Congress shall have no power upon the subject of slavery anywhere, except to surrender fugitive slaves and to prohibit the African slave trade, Mr. Lincoln will not oppose it. If the people shall say that it shall be the duty of Congress to protect slavery everywhere in the Territories, Mr. Lincoln is pledged not to oppose that. If the people shall say in their amendment that Congress shall have the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, Mr. Lincoln is pledged not to oppose that. If, on the contrary, the people shall say that they are in favor of the Crittenden proposition dividing the territory by a geographical line on the principle of an equitable partition, Mr. Lincoln says he will not oppose that. He is in favor of such amendments as will settle the question forever, by an express provision of the Constitution, and he leaves the people and their representatives to devise what those amendments shall be, and he will accept them cheerfully, and not throw any obstructions in the way of their adoption.

"Taking these two propositions together, I find much cause for hope, for encouragement, in this inaugural. First, his policy will be peaceful and not aggressive; he will do no act that tends to collision, but will modify his course always with the view and the hope of a peaceful solution; and, second, inasmuch as the difficulties arise out of the absence of an express provision on the slavery question, he will favor such measures as will enable the people to settle that question by an express provision in the Constitution.

"Now, sir, far be it from me to intimate that the President, in these recommendations, has not been faithful to the principles of his party, as well as to the honor and safety of his country. Whatever departure from party platforms he has made in these recommendations should be regarded as an evidence of patriotism, and not an act of infidelity. In my opinion, if I have understood the inaugural aright, he has sunk the partisan in the patriot, and he is entitled to the thanks of all conservative men to that extent. I do not wish it to be inferred from anything that I have said or have omitted to say, that I have any political sympathy with his administration, or that I expect that any contingency can happen in which I may be identified with it. I expect to oppose his administration with all my energy on those great principles which have separated parties in former times; but on this one question, that of preserving the Union by a peaceful solution of our present difficulties—that of preventing any future difficulties by such an amendment of the Constitution as will settle the question by an express provision—if I understand his true intent and meaning, I am with him.

"Mr. President, if the result shall prove that, I have put a wrong construction on the inaugural, I shall deplore the consequences which a belligerent and aggressive policy may inflict upon our beloved country, without being responsible in any degree for the disasters and calamities which may follow. I believe I have placed upon it its true interpretation. I know I have put the patriotic construction on it. I believe the action of the President will justify that construction. I will never relinquish that belief and hope until he shall have done such acts as render it impossible to preserve the peace of the country and the unity of the States. Sir, this Union cannot be preserved by war. It cannot be cemented by blood. It can only be preserved by peaceful means. And when our present troubles shall have been settled, future difficulties can only be prevented by constitutional amendments which will put an end to all controversy by express provision. These remedies and preventatives have been clearly marked out by the President in his inaugural. All I ask is that his Administration shall adhere to them and carry them out in good faith. Let this be done, and all who join in the good work will deserve and they will receive the applause and approbation of a grateful country. No partisan advantage can be taken, no political capital should be made, out of a generous act of noble patriotism. While I expect to oppose the Administration upon all the political issues of the day, I trust I shall never hesitate to do justice to those who, by their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, show that they love their country more than their party."

Stephen A. Douglas Publications

A survey of our collateral material reveals that the Foundation has forty-two printed publications of Senator Stephen A. Douglas' addresses, speeches, remarks and letters. This check list does not contain the publications issued in 1858 and 1860 relative to the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Another file, not included in this compilation, might be labeled "Publications About Douglas."

A catalogue of the Foundation's collection follows:

Speech/of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglass, of Illinois,/on/The Annexation of Texas:/Delivered/In The House of Representatives, January 6, 1845 (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5¼ x 8¾, 7 pp.

Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois/on/The War With Mexico,/and/The Boundary of The Rio Grande./Delivered/In The Senate of The United States, Tuesday, February 1, 1848/Washington:/Printed At The Congressional Globe Office/1848 (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 15 pp.

Speech/of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/On The/Territorial Question./Delivered In Senate of The United States, March 13 and 14, 1850/Washington: Printed By John T. Towers./1850. (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 31 pp.

Speech/of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/On The/"Measures of Adjustment,"/Delivered In The City Hall, October 23, 1850. (Caption Title). Pamphlet 5½ x 8¾, 16 pp., Gideon & Co., printers.

Address/Of The/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/At The/Annual Fair/Of The/New York State Agricultural Society,/Held At Rochester, September, 1851./Albany: C. Van Benthuysen, printer, 407 Broadway./1851 (Title Page). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9½, 41 pp.

Welcome To Kossuth./Remarks/Of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/On The/Joint Resolution Welcoming Governor Kossuth./Delivered/In The Senate Of The United States, December 11, 1851./Washington: Printed At The Congressional Globe Office./1851 (Cover Page). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 7 pp.

Remarks/Of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/Upon/The Resolution Declaring The Compromise/Measures To Be A Definitive Adjust-/ment Of All Questions Grow-/ing Out Of Domestic/Slavery/Delivered In The Senate Of The United States, December 23, 1851/Washington:/Printed By Jno. T. Towers/1851 (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 5½ x 8½, 15 pp.

Speeches/of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/At The/Democratic Festival, At Jackson Hall,/January 8, 1852./And At/The Congressional Banquet To Kossuth, January 7, 1852/(Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 8 pp.

Speech/of/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/of Illinois,/Delivered in Richmond, Virginia, July 9, 1852. (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5½ x 8½, 8 pp.

In a speech before the Springfield Scott Club Lincoln replied to Douglas' Richmond Speech. August 14, 26, 1852.

Oration/Of The/Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,/On The/Inauguration Of The Jackson Statue,/At The/City of Washington,/January 8, 1853/Washington:/Printed by Lemuel Towers./1853 (Cover Title). Pamphlet, 5¼ x 8¼, 16 pp.

(Sp)eech/of/Mr. Douglas, of Illinois,/on/The Monroe Doctrine./Delivered In The Senate Of The United States, February 14, 1853 (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 8 pp.

River And Harbor Improvements./Letter/of/Senator Douglas/To/Governor Matteson, of Illinois (Caption Title). Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 8 pp. January 2, 1854.

The/Nebraska/Question/Comprising/Speeches In The United States Senate/By/Mr. Douglas (And Seven Others)/Together With/The History Of The Missouri Compromise/Daniel Webster's Memorial In Regard to

it — History of/The Annexation of Texas — The Organization of/Oregon Territory — And The Compromises of 1850/Redfield/110 and 112 Nassau Street, New York/1854 (Cover Title).

Book, 6¼ x 9¾, 119 pp.

Pages 35 to 36 contain Mr. Douglas' Report In The United States Senate, January 4, 1854. Pages 37 to 47 contain Douglas' Senate speech of January 30, 1854.

Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/In The Senate, January 30, 1854,/On The/Nebraska Territory./Washington: Printed At The Sentinel Office./1854 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 5½ x 8½, 14 pp.

Letter/of/Senator Douglas,/In Reply/To The Editor/Of The/State Capitol Reporter,/Concord, N. H./ Washington:/Printed At The Sentinel Office./1854 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 6 x 9½, 7 pp. February 16, 1854.

Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/In The United States Senate/March 3, 1854/on/Nebraska and Kansas/Washington: Printed At The Sentinel Office/1854/(Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 6 x 9½, 30 pp.

Letter/of/Senator Douglas,/Vindicating/His Character And His Position On The Nebraska/Bill Against The Assaults Contained In/The Proceedings of/A Public Meeting/Composed of/Twenty-five Clergymen of Chicago./ Washington: Printed At The Sentinel Office/1854 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 5¾ x 8¾, 14 pp.

Letter of Douglas is dated April 6, 1854.

Nebraska And Kansas/Speech/of/Senator Douglas,/In The Senate, May 8, 1854/in vindication of his character and of his position on the Nebraska-Kansas bill. (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5½ x 8½, 8 pp.

Speech/of/Senator Douglas,/At the Democratic Celebration of the Anniversary of/American Freedom, in Independence Square, Philadelphia, July 4, 1854 (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5½ x 8½, 7 pp.

Speech/of/Senator Douglas,/at/a Public Dinner/given him/by his personal and political friends, at Chicago,/ November 9, 1854./Washington:/Printed at the Congressional Globe Office./1855. (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 5½ x 7½, 15 pp.

Execution of United States Laws/Speeches/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/Delivered/In The Senate Of The United States, February 23, 1855/on/The Bill reported from the Committee of the Judiciary to protect Officers and Other/Persons Acting Under the Authority of the United States (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5½ x 8½, 8 pp.

34th Congress/1st Session/Senate/Rep. Com. No. 34/ In The Senate Of The United States/(...) /Mr. Douglas Made the following/Report./The Committee on Territories . . . (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5½ x 8¾, 61 pp. March 12, 1856.

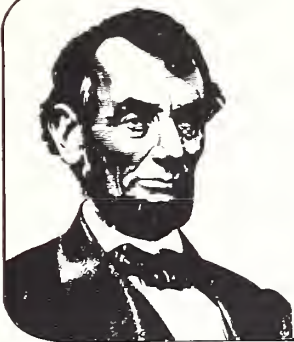
Speech/of/Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois,/on Kansas Territorial Affairs./Delivered In The Senate Of The United States, March 20, 1856/Washington: Printed At The Union Office./1856 (Cover Title).

Pamphlet, 6 x 8¾, 29 pp.

34 Congress/1st Session/Senate/Rep. Com. No. 198/ In The Senate Of The United States./June 30, 1856 . . . /Mr. Douglas made the following/Report./To accompany Bill S. 356/The Committee on Territories . . . (Caption Title).

Pamphlet, 5¾ x 9, 10 pp.

(To Be Continued In February Issue)



Lincoln Lore

April, 1976

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Number 1658

LINCOLN AND THE WAR DEMOCRATS A Review

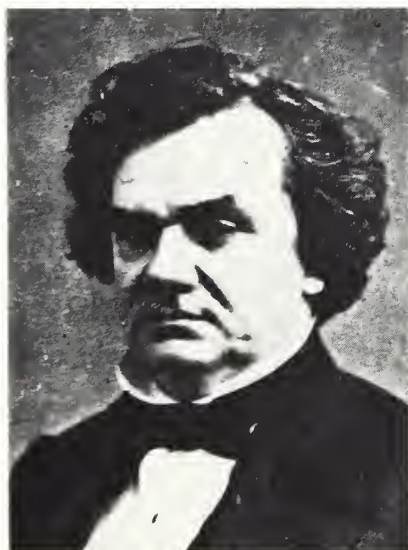
Historians tend to devour their fathers and to forget how much they have learned from them. Today's historians of the Civil War era tend to stress differences rather than similarities between the Republican and Democratic parties and cohesiveness *within* either party. Historians who study political elites stress ideological differences, the new social historians stress ethnocultural differences, but both schools study political polarization between Republicans and Democrats. Their fathers had brought the two parties together, stressing the similarities between Lincoln and Douglas or Lincoln and McClellan, in an effort to escape the G.A.R. view of the era as the Republican salvation of the Union from Democratic treason. Certainly either Douglas or McClellan would have tried to save the Union had either been the winner rather than Lincoln. The fathers were right about this, but the children are right to add this *caveat*: there were nevertheless great differences in the nature of the two parties, particularly in regard to their views of the Negro race, and American history would have been, though still a unitary history of one country, very different had Lincoln lost either election.

We must not forget what our fathers told us; the Democrats did help win the war. To help remind us, Christopher Dell has given us a large volume entitled *Lincoln and the War Democrats: The Grand Erosion of Conservative Tradition* (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975). Whatever its faults, and I think they are many and severe, one cannot come away from the book without a renewed sense of the vigor and importance of the War Democracy.

It is refreshing to be reminded of the help Democrats gave

President Lincoln. To be sure, many historians have assured us that the Democracy was a loyal opposition, but much of the literature that proves it is negative and defensive in tone. Look, they seem to be saying, Democrats could have brought the whole war effort to a halt, but they did not. They could have refused to make up a quorum in Congress for voting supplies to the armies, but they did not. Dell's story is a good deal more positive in tone. He sees the War Democracy as the creation of Stephen A. Douglas *after* April 12, 1861 (before that date and since South Carolina's secession on December 20, however, Douglas had brooded or criticized, not taking the crisis seriously enough). The Illinois Assembly requested Douglas's return from Washington, and in a reverse-Inaugural journey, the defeated candidate set out for Illinois by train in April:

The purpose of the trip at once became known and wherever the train stopped along the way, large crowds assembled and Douglas was called upon to speak. The first such speech was delivered in Ohio just across the line from Wheeling. . . . Widely reported in the press, his remarks created a sensation. At Columbus and Indianapolis, Douglas spoke again, appealing for nonpartisan support of the war and a public demand for its vigorous prosecution. The trip reached an appropriately dramatic climax in Illinois. On April 25, 1861, Douglas told the Illinois Assembly, crowded with onlookers, that he was guilty of "leaning too far to the southern section of the Union." He warned them: "Whoever is not prepared to sacrifice party and organizations and platforms on the altar of his country, does not deserve the support or countenance of honest people." Returning to his



Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society

Stephen A. Douglas



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Joseph Holt



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Benjamin F. Butler

home in Chicago, he spoke at the Republican Wigwam, where Lincoln had been nominated. In this, his last public address, he said: "There can be no neutrals in this war. Only patriots and traitors." After this performance, many recalcitrant Democrats fell into line as supporters of the war effort. The War Democracy and even nonpartisan Union parties thus became a significant factor as early as 1861.

Other vivid incidents help recall the contribution of the War Democrats. Kentucky Democrat Joseph Holt gave what Republican Rutherford B. Hayes recalled as "the best war speeches of any man in the land. They always brace my nerves and stir my heart when I read them." The arresting officer in the Merryman case, General George C. Cadwalader of Pennsylvania, was a Democrat. His defiance of a Democratic Chief Justice (Taney) to uphold a Republican President (Lincoln) in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* "had considerable significance in Unionist circles." General Benjamin F. Butler's theory that escaped slaves of disloyal masters were "contraband" of war was the earliest indication that supporting the war effort could eventuate in supporting the abolition of slavery, as long as the assault on the peculiar institution was approached by a strategy of military indirection. The wisdom of Lincoln's approach to abolition by military justification is amply demonstrated by the willingness of War Democrats to accept moves against slavery that were for reasons of punishment of disloyalty rather than for reasons of moral concern for the downtrodden.

Though Republicans customarily get the blame for being tough on civil liberties during the Civil War, General Cadwalader's case is generally instructive. War Democrats could be just as tough. War Democrats Andrew Johnson of Tennessee and Joseph A. Wright of Indiana appeared together to speak in Columbus, Ohio, in February of 1863. They laid particular stress on the evils of Samuel Medary's newspaper, *The Crisis*, for its anti-administration editorial policies. When the speeches were over, a mob of soldiers left to attack the offices of the newspaper. That night, a mob attacked still another Democratic paper.

Once sucked into the Republican vortex, the logic of events swept Democrats along the way to conclusions that we tend to think of as exclusively Republican. Missouri's John Brooks Henderson was a slave owner and a states-rights Democrat until Fort Sumter. As a Senator during the Civil War, however, he wound up introducing the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, because he felt that it needed Border State sponsorship in order not to seem a piece of Yankee Republican abolitionism. In Reconstruction, he would advocate Negro suffrage and write legislation resembling the Fifteenth Amendment. Maryland's John A. J. Creswell, who voted for Stephen Douglas in 1860, gave a rousing speech in behalf of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865. Creswell argued

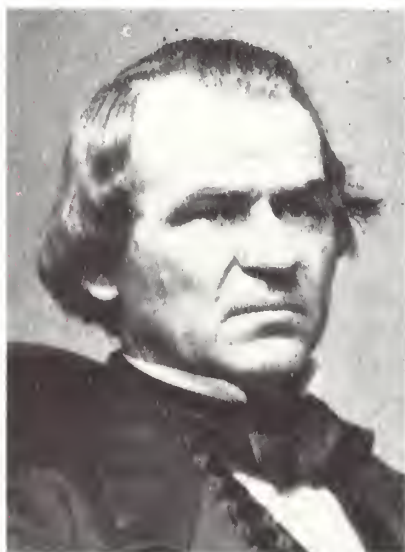
that the war had disproved slaveholders' fears of insurrection and slanders that Negroes were cowards. The Negro had proved his manhood. The final report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, issued on May 15, 1864, recommended full civil and political rights for Negro freedmen "in order that he might stand on his own feet without being a burden to the government." The Commission was chaired by War Democrat Robert Dale Owen of Indiana.

"Aside from the 'March to the Sea' by Republican General William T. Sherman," Dell says, "the major Union military operations of 1864 were all in the hands of Democratic Generals." General Ulysses S. Grant, who had supported Douglas, assumed command of all the armies. General George H. Thomas won at Chickamauga and Nashville. The Crater at Petersburg was bungled by Generals Ambrose E. Burnside, Orlando B. Wilcox, and Edward Ferrero. Benjamin Butler failed at Bermuda Hundred. General John A. McClernand began the Red River expedition, and General Lew Wallace stalled the Confederate troops at Monocacy River. War Democrats were appointed to commands in vital areas behind the lines where they would have to fight expected disloyalty: William S. Rosecrans in the Department of the Missouri, Lew Wallace in the Middle Department (Baltimore), and Irvin McDowell in the Department of the Pacific.

The previous paragraph is representative of the method which Dell uses to prove his point. In a loose and allusive way, he mentions the names of so many War Democrats that eventually one is impressed by their importance to the war effort. To call this a method would be almost to dignify making a list as a methodology, but Dell does have an historical method. He tries to study political developments throughout the North, state by state. To handle the scope, of course, he must rely principally on secondary sources, printed primary sources (especially speeches), and newspapers. The last named he seems not to have sampled in any particularly systematic or exhaustive way. I cannot find a single reference to a manuscript source.

The conception of the project, though it defies modern infatuation with the importance of manuscript sources, is not altogether without merit. A state-by-state synthesis of the Democratic party's development in the Civil War would be a welcome addition to modern scholarship. Moreover, Dell's conclusions are interesting and deserve consideration:

In this, the crowning year of the wartime Union party [1864], it is worth considering some notable facts about the true nature of the party hierarchy and the accusation of Conservatives that the Union party was merely "the Republican party under a different name." Andrew Johnson, the Union candidate for Vice President, was a War Democrat. In the States of Maine, Ohio, and Iowa, War Democrats



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Andrew Johnson



Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society Library

Robert Dale Owen



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Joseph A. Wright

received the Union nomination for the highest state executive position under consideration by the voters. In New York, Vermont, Ohio, and Connecticut, War Democrats received the Union nomination for the second-highest state executive position. In Indiana, four Union nominations for major state executive office were accorded War Democrats; in Ohio and Connecticut the number was three. In congressional races, the Union party nominated seventeen War Democrats. In California, a majority of the Union nominees for Congress were War Democrats. In Ohio, Indiana, Oregon and New Jersey the Union State party chairmen were War Democrats. On the Union State Central Committee of Connecticut, ten of 23 members were War Democrats. And so on, *ad infinitum* . . . [sic] It must be asked of the Conservative historians: If this kind of non-partisan display was *not enough* to establish the Union party as a truly nonpartisan body, what then was required? In fact, it would appear that the Union party was all it claimed to be; and much of the credit belongs to Abraham Lincoln, whose gentle hammering proved devastating to the Conservative principles of the Democratic party.

Dell concludes that Lincoln was more radical than conservative and argues that he repeatedly blunted criticism by using War Democrats as lightning rods. When Lincoln repudiated David Hunter's enlisting of black troops in South Carolina in the summer of 1862, he blamed the policy on the greatest War Democrat of them all, Stanton, but did not remove Stanton or Hunter. Lincoln ignored the conservative results of the Republican state conventions of 1862 in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio and went ahead with the drafting and announcement of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Dell properly points out that "the Gettysburg Address, . . . utilized again the inflammatory [sic] Jeffersonian contention that 'all men are created equal.'"

The problem with the book is its execution of the worthwhile project. The myriad of names mentioned in the text have no biographical flesh on them. The discussions of political developments from state to state make chaotic and dismal reading and superficial history. Dell's literary style compounds the errors, as can be seen in this example:

Some outstanding features of the New York campaign [of 1862] included the sale and transfer of the New York *World* from the Union camp to the Democratic camp. War Democrat Manton Marble was managing editor of the *World*. He was a member of Mozart Hall, a close friend of Fernando Wood, and a strong supporter of Seymour. Wood, who had campaigned for Major as a War Democrat in 1861, campaigned for Congress in 1862 as a Conditional. James Gorden [sic] Bennett of the *Herald*, who had supported the Union ticket of 1861, declared for Seymour. A major feature of the Upstate canvass was a running debate between War

Democrat Daniel S. Dickinson and Conditional War Democrat John Van Buren, stirring recollections of the Free Soil campaign of 1848. On that occasion, [sic] Van Buren had been for freedom, Dickinson for slavery. This time it was the other way around. Without Conservative support, the Republican-Union ticket had no chance of victory in New York and Seymour's majority exceeded ten thousand. On the New York congressional delegation a 23-9 Republican majority was replaced by an 18-12 Democratic majority. In the state legislature the Republican-Union coalition retained an overall majority, but the Regular Democracy acquired equal standing in the Assembly.

Woe be unto the graduate student who writes such an obvious stitching-together of note cards with no especially obvious logical connection between them. Why a university press publishes what a graduate seminar would reject is an important problem.

Far more important than the lack of readability evident in the passage is the lack of understanding betrayed by it. Everywhere in the book, one is greeted by transitions from party to party and from platform to platform, willy-nilly, without even a modest attempt at explaining *why*—why, in this case, Van Buren and Dickinson flip-flopped. The lack of understanding here is fundamental and ironic.

Mr. Dell's historical world is highly politicized. He has studied the political affiliations of scores of Civil War generals in an effort to show how many were Democrats. This may reflect more of his own feelings than theirs, for Generals, though some became Presidential candidates, generally did not vote in the nineteenth century. It is easy to exaggerate their partisan awareness. Even though he tends to see everything as political in nature, Mr. Dell does not really understand the nature of politics. He cannot explain the wild meanderings of politicians from ideological position to ideological position, because he does not study what often made them change, factional politics. Compare the flat and almost meaningless description of New York politics above with these passages from a historian who *does* understand, Michael Les Benedict (in *A Compromise of Principle: Congressional Republicans and Reconstruction, 1863-1869* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1974]):

One of the greatest obstacles to understanding Republican radicalism and conservatism during the Civil War period has been the tendency of historians to confuse political and legislative radicalism. . . . [Contemporaries] were equally perplexed by the ideological somersaults of Salmon P. Chase, Horace Greeley, George Julian, and a host of lesser lights. To understand how a Chase could be the radical candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1864 and then aspire to the Democratic nomination four years later, one must perceive the factional nature of Ameri-



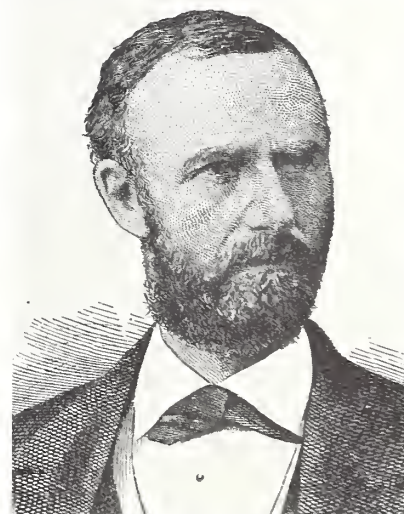
From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

John A. J. Creswell



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Edwin M. Stanton



Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society,
St. Louis

John B. Henderson

can politics.

Traditionally, the United States has been a two-party democracy; in many states there has been only one viable political party. Yet, for nearly every position in American national and state government there have been more than one or two aspirants. These rivals have had to fight their battles within one or another of the parties. Often ideological similarities, personal friendships, or pure self-interest have spurred groups of aspirants to office to ally themselves with their rivals.

Benedict then gives a suitably complex and yet also satisfyingly explained example, the Seward-Weed *vs.* Greeley rivalry in New York's Republican party:

The feud broke into bitter warfare that year [1860], when Seward and Weed blamed Greeley for Seward's failure to win the Republican presidential nomination—Seward had been the radical candidate at the Chicago Convention. Greeley had favored the archconservative Missouri Whig, Edward Bates.

Weed repaid Greeley . . . in 1861, defeating Greeley's drive for the Republican nomination to the United States Senate. During the secession winter, as Weed advocated concessions to slavery to preserve the Union, Greeley opposed compromises, preferring to allow the South to secede peacefully. Strife continued as both factions tried to win Lincoln's favor and control the national patronage. Lincoln gave control of the customs house in New York City to former Democrats, who generally disliked Seward and allied loosely with Greeley, but the Seward-Weed forces generally received the choicer appointments in the rest of the state.

In 1862, anti-Weed forces, made up of Greeley's friends and the allies of independent-minded former Democrats . . . , controlled the Republican nominations. Weed, advocating a strong appeal to Union Democrats, left the state convention disgruntled and did little to elect the ticket. When the Republicans lost the canvass, Greeley and his allies charged him with sabotage. But with the only patronage now available to Republicans in the state emanating from the national government, Weed slowly regained control of the state organization.

By 1864 Weed, who first worked for Lincoln's renomination and then threatened to sit out the campaign unless Lincoln acceded to his ever-growing patronage demands, had won control of every important national appointment in the state. Lincoln had replaced the former Democrat Chase as secretary of the treasury and soon thereafter turned out Chase's formerly Democratic friends in the New York customs house, substituting for them allies of Weed. At the same time he named a Seward-Weed partisan city postmaster. Given this political situation, it is little wonder that

Greeley opposed Lincoln's renomination and that many leading former Democrats . . . actively promoted the Frémont third-party movement.

And so it goes for three more pages, with Greeley and Weed alternately skulking and acting as Republican stalwarts. Benedict gives us an explanation, and we do not lurch along confusedly from baffling factional identification to seemingly inexplicable ideological about-face. Benedict has an understanding of politics that Dell does not.

Moreover, Dell's bibliography is practically twenty years out of date. Few works written after 1956 are cited. We get father Philip, but not son Eric, Foner, Oberholtzer on Philadelphia but not Dunsinberre; the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* but not the *Journal of American History*; etc. I can find no references to *Civil War History*, though all scholars would now acknowledge that it is the leading journal in that field of study. The modern students of Democratic behavior, like Leonard Curry, are not mentioned.

This is the first book I have seen from Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, and I do not look forward to another. As my liberal use of "sic" in the quotations from the book suggests, the editorial standards are simply appalling. Proofreaders should have caught some of these mistakes: "Consservative" (page 19); "nothern" (31); Horace "Heffren" and Horace "Heffern" in the same paragraph (59); "ad nauseum" for "ad nauseam" (106); "sizeable" (119) and "sizable" (233); "Widescale" (200) is not a word; "Implicetely" for "Implicitly" (205); "perscution" (240); "picure" (245); "beastial" for "bestial" (247); Charles R. Buckalew becomes "William A." (268); "Irwin" McDowell (276) is "Irvin" in the index; "proffered" is "proferred" (277); Mr. "Coffroth" is also Mr. "Coffrath" in the same paragraph (319); "Relected" (341); and the last sentence of Chapter 14 has no concluding punctuation. The capitalization is absolutely bizarre, and a page looks almost like an eighteenth-century text with capital letters sprinkled everywhere. Grammatical errors are permitted, as on page 91: "the man whom he believed had lost Tennessee." The "whom" should be "who," as it is the subject of the noun clause ("who . . . had lost Tennessee") and not the object of the verb "believed."

There is a great book yet to be written on the Democratic party after Douglas. We need to know more about it in almost every northern state, and we certainly need a synthesis which coordinates our knowledge of each state into a usable interpretation. Christopher Dell whets our appetites for more, but we do not have complete confidence in what he does tell us. Creswell, for example, was a Whig forced into the Douglas Democracy in 1860, because the Republican party was too weak in Maryland to count. Is it right to call him a War Democrat? If not, what about the others?



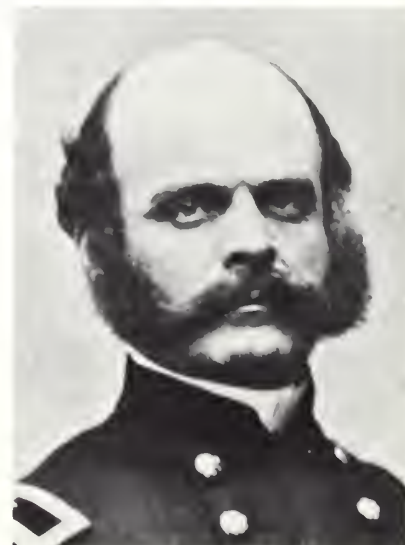
From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Lew Wallace



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Ulysses S. Grant



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Ambrose E. Burnside

DOUGLAS AND BRECKINRIDGE. The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia Press says:

After the close of the last Presidential election, and on the assembling of Congress, Judge Douglas wishing as he assured me at the time, to wash out any old grudges or ill feelings, and to begin his personal relations with his Senatorial colleagues anew, sent his card to Mr. Breckinridge as a first step to his intended course of conciliation. He met Mr. Breckinridge, who passed him without a law of recognition. The card remained unanswered.

Subsequently, Mrs. Douglas, animated by the same kind and magnanimous disposition, and unaware of the discourtesy of the Kentucky Senator, sent him her usual reception cards. To these Mr. Breckinridge responded by returning his card to Mrs. Douglas, the Mrs. underscored. Such a littleness could not escape immediate recognition. "I thought it," said the Judge to me some time after, "not the best evidence of greatness of mind or largeness of heart, and most certainly would much prefer receiving than giving the discourtesy." I am of the opinion that there are thousands who are of the same opinion. I mention this trivial anecdote as a specimen of the magnanimous chivalry of a gentleman who has been claimed as a finished, courtier-like Senator.

LINCOLN DOUGLAS MEETING, By Jas. Pollock.

"Near the close of February 1861, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, reached Washington after a perilous and lengthy journey. Notwithstanding, the threats of assassination and the attempts made to enact such fiendish purpose, he arrived safely and was warmly welcomed by his many friends. He occupied rooms at Williard's hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. The peace congress was then in session and held their meeting in a large hall fitted up for the purpose, in the rear of and connected with the same hotel. Many distinguished civilians were there and welcomed him. Among these was Stephen A. Douglass, United States Senator from Illinois, whose competitor for that honorable place had been Abraham Lincoln, now the president elect.

I was a member of the peace congress and roomed at Williard's. I had also been a member of the 28th, 29th and 30th congresses of which Mr. Douglass had been a member. In the 29th congress he was chairman of the committee on territories, of which committee I was also a member. Associated with him in the House of Representatives and on this committee, I became intimately acquainted with him, and although we differed politically, yet this difference did not interfere with our personal relations or friendship. Mr. Lincoln was also a member of the 29th congress. I knew him well. We, with other members of congress, occupied one of the principal boarding houses on Capitol Hill. He was a genial and pleasant companion, full of good humor, ready wit and with an unlimited fund of anecdotes, which he would relate with a zest and manner that never failed to bring down our "kiss", and restore harmony and smiles, when the peace of our little community was threatened by a too earnest and heated controversy on some of the exciting questions of the hour. Our friendship was mutual. I therefore did not hesitate to call upon him soon after his arrival at Washington. I was cordially received--was often alone with him, the conversation was frequently on the condition of the country--the threats of secession--the danger of civil war, and the disruption of the Union. He was always firm in his resolve to defend the constitution and save the Union.

One evening about the end of February or the first of March, I called to see him. A few friends who had called were just leaving when I entered. I was there alone with him. He greeted me with his usual friendship--with an informal sincerity that was the very essence of true friendship. The conversation was general and free from restraint. In the midst of this there was a knock at the door, the hearty "Walk in!" was uttered. The door opened and Stephen A. Douglass entered. Mr. Lincoln received him with good cordiality after a warm shaking of hands. Mr. Douglass took his seat. We went back and talked about other times and scenes--incidents of our congressional lives, then the greatest question of all at that time--the most impressive and important was introduced--the country and its impending danger.

There was a deep and solemn earnestness in that important conversation. At its close Mr. Douglass arose to go. Mr. Lincoln also arose. Mr. Douglass approached Mr. Lincoln and taking his hand and looking him full and earnestly in the face, said: "Mr. President, you and I have been for many years politically opposed to each other. We have often addressed our constituents on the political questions of the day--often met before them in debate and differed honestly but strongly and warmly differed, but in our devotion to the constitution of the Union, we have never differed. In that we are one. This Union must and shall not be destroyed.

Now I am here tonight to say to you, in the presence of our mutual friend Pollock, that should an attempt be made by the advocates of secession to carry out their treasonable designs, by force or otherwise, I will be with you, and I here in the presence of our friend pledge myself and my friends to aid and sustain you in any effort you may deem proper to save our Union--with all our strength and energy we will aid you. This country must be saved. Our Union must be preserved. Party and feeling must yield to patriotism. I am with you, Mr. President, and God bless you."

Mr. Lincoln, who stood with his eyes fixed on Mr. Douglass, during the delivery of these sentiments, could not withhold the tears

that slowly coursed down his cheeks, and seizing Mr. Douglass' hand with both of his and giving it a most heart felt pressure, said in tones that bespoke the fullness of his heart: "God bless you Douglass. With such pledges and such assurances from my political opponent, and with God's help, we must succeed. Oh! How you have cheered and warmed my heart. The danger is great but with such words from such friends, why should we fear. Our Union cannot be destroyed. With all my heart I thank you. The people with us and God helping us all will get thee well. God bless you Douglass. Good night."

Before the close of this scene all our eyes were filled with tears. It was solemn and impressive. I cannot describe it. Mr. Douglass then retired. As soon as the door closed, Mr. Lincoln turned to me and with strong and meaning emphasis said: "Oh! Pollock, what a noble man Douglass is. We have always been opposed politically, but now when the country needs the help of every true patriot, he forgets party and pledges his aid to me and the Union. How such words of his encourage me. I hardly know how to express my feeling for him. I did not expect such pledges, such promise of cooperation." He was surprised and delighted by the words and pledges of Mr. Douglass. I assured him that Douglass was in earnest and that he and his friends would sustain him in every effort that might be necessary to defeat and overthrow the treason that clamored for disunion."

(Although Mr. Douglass died soon after the commencement of hostilities, (June 10th, 1861) yet while he lived he fully redeemed the pledge given to President Lincoln. By deed and act, he declared his attachment to the constitution and the Union; his hatred of treason; and was in full sympathy with the men who dared to do and die for their country.)

